Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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THE IMPACT OF THE EAST GERMAN UPRISING

(See Editorial Page 3)

Burnt Offering

Must We Die for Rhee? Ask Bitter GIs in Korea

Anti-Stalinist German Workers Wage Independent Class Battle

By John F. Petrone

What was the nature of the great demonstrations and strikes that swept East Germany beginning June 16?

The first answer of the imperialist propagandists was that it was a spontaneous "anti-communist" movement that had been inspired by "the ideals of the West."

The Soviet authorities and the German Stalinists admitted that the workers had justified grievances, but they blamed the "disorders" on the activities of spies and saboteurs paid and directed by the imperialists.

Both these explanations are false. It was an independent workers movement, which was both anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist in character. All the available facts confirm this analysis, first stated in The Militant last week.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

On June 16 a number of construction workers in East Berlin, estimated at 5,000, left their jobs and began to parade through the streets toward the main government buildings. They chanted slogans and carried banners expressing a grievance.

Six days before, the Stalinist government had announced a "liberalization" program. In line with the new tactics of the Kremlin, this program was designed to show that the Stalinists are willing to make concessions to promote their bargainings with the West over the unification of Germany.

The June 10 program offered to restore property to small businessmen who had fled out of the Soviet zone, reach an amicable agreement with the churches, ease up on rationing, lower prices, etc. In the next six days the Stalinists released several thousand people arrested for minor violations of regulations, called off the purge of teachers and students in the schools, relaxed travel rules, and promised to modify their five-year plan so that more soft-goods products would be available.

These measures were widely interpreted as moves to reverse the "Sovietization of East Germany."

ORDERLY MARCH

But apparently they were not what the workers of East Germany wanted. Their demonstration on June 16 began with a demand to cancel a May 28 decree requiring them to speed up their work so that they produced 10% more — with no increase in pay.

The march was orderly. The German Stalinist cops did not interfere, although the workers booed at them.

This unusual sight attracted a great deal of attention from people on the streets and at windows in houses along the way. Many of them cheered the demonstrators, who shouted back: "Everyone out of your house."

As they passed by, the people in the streets stopped and began to discuss and argue what they had seen.

In addition to the protest against the speedup, the workers began to chant other slogans:

"We don't want a people's army, we need butter."

"We don't want a Volkskammer (the East German parliament), we want free elections."

"Away with the interzonal and intersectoral borders (dividing Germany) — let our mothers see their sons."

And most important of all:

"General strike tomorrow! Everybody out for a general strike tomorrow!"

When they reached the government buildings, an official tried to speak to them, but they booed him down.

Finally, they left, and most of them went back to their jobs.

WAS IT ENCOURAGED?

Three hours after the demonstration began, the Politburo of the German Stalinist (Socialist Unity) party issued a communique admitting that the speedup was an "error" and revoking it.

One interpretation given of the June 16 events was that the Stalinist rulers had themselves arranged or encouraged the demonstration as additional proof that their "liberalization" program was seriously meant. The main argument adduced for this interpretation was the fact that the police did not attack the demonstration.

This interpretation is speculative. It might be that the police felt sympathy for the demonstrators and in the absence of specific orders refused to attack them on their own. Later events showed that the Stalinist rulers did not place much confidence in them, and rightly so.

In any case, it makes no difference how the thing started. The point is that the workers soon took things into their own hands. It certainly wasn't the rulers who told them to raise the call for free elections, the unification of the country — and a general strike.

GENERAL DEBATE

Late into the night debates went on all over the city. "Will there actually be a general strike

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Battle-Weary GIs

Still waiting for the longed-for truce, battle-exahusted American troops in Korea drop wearily to the ground for a much-needed rest after the bloody fighting for Vegas Outpost. Soldiers like these are voicing "bring us home" sentiments and are bitter about truce-stalling.

Light Shed On Origins Of the War

By Joseph Keller

Are American GIs to die in Korea because of Syngman Rhee's refusal to accept a truce? Will the South Korean dictator, with the connivance of his U.S. backers like Sen. McCarthy and Gen. Van Fleet, maneuver this country into a bigger and bloodier war in the Far East?

These are the questions burning in the minds of the U.S. troops in Korea and of their folks here at home. And there is a growing conviction that nothing less than the complete withdrawal of the American armed forces from Korea will prevent eventual involvement, regardless of any present cease-fire, in further warfare in the Far East.

Severe censorship prevents our knowing fully the ferment going on among the troops. But there has been more than one hint of the powerful tide of "bring us home" sentiment sweeping the GIs. Rhee's efforts to blow up the imminent Korea truce has embittered them even more at the prospects of remaining in that ruined, blood-drenched land.

FRONT LINE REACTION

Some idea of their sentiments is indicated by Hanson W. Baldwin, **N. Y. Times** military analyst, in his June 23 column. He reveals:

". . . The front-line reaction, even though undoubtedly muted by censorship, has been bitter. The fighting soldier wants the war to end and Dr. Rhee and the Koreans now bear the blame in his mind for its continuance. This hostile feeling is shared in the United States by the kinsmen of United States prisoners of war and by many of those with relatives in Korea who have been hoping for months for the end of the war."

Rhee has been built up to his present position by Washington and some of the very elements who now express themselves as most "shocked" by his moves to torpedo a Korean armistice and to trigger a new explosion of warfare. Moreover, there are strong indications that Rhee's actions are being encouraged by influential elements among the military Big Brass and by the "Pacific Firsters" in Congress.

McCARTHY BACKS RHEE

Sen. Joseph McCarthy hailed Rhee's action in releasing 27,000 prisoners of war (most of whom are being impressed into the South Korean forces) in violation of the agreement reached between the U.S.-U.N. negotiators and the Chinese-North Korean representatives. The nation's No. 1 witch hunter urged the world to "applaud the action of Syngman Rhee."

Similarly, Gen. James A. Van Fleet — former Eighth Army commander who complains he could have pushed the Chinese back to the Yalu at the cost of a mere 50,000 more casualties — said of Rhee's move: "I don't think Rhee could have done anything else." He likewise recalled that Rhee was carrying out what the U.S. command itself had threatened to do only a few week ago: "It had been considered . . . to release these prisoners and present the Reds with a fait accompli."

This refers to the fact that on April 30, Lieut. Gen. William K. Harrison, head of the U.S. truce mission at Panmunjom, threatened to release inside South Korea, before any agreement, some 50,000 North Korean prisoners of war whom the Communist spokesmen were insisting should be returned. Moreover, it was the U.S. command which first raised the phony issue of "voluntary repatriation" and forcibly sepa-

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Revulsion Sweeps World At Murder of Rosenbergs

By Art Preis

A smell of the auto-da-fe — the burning of heretics — hangs over the land. With the legal murder on June 19 of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the modern Inquisition has sent its first two victims to the stake.

Their inquisitors kept the Rosenbergs on the wrack for weeks and months, offering the condemned couple their lives in return for "recantations" and "confessions." The Rosenbergs declared their innocence to the end. They refused to "abjure" themselves and spurned the role of stoolpigeons and perjurers as demanded by the Eisenhower administration, with its Department of Justice and FBI.

Enraged that their odious compact was refused, the witch hunters in obscene haste shoved aside a last-minute stay of execution granted by Justice Douglas and claimed their blood-victims.

The whole prestige and authority of the U.S. government was mobilized to give the odor of legal sanctity to the burnings. Eisenhower and the Supreme Court themselves, in effect, pulled the electric-chair switch. A cold-blooded six-to-three decision of the hastily reconvened Supreme Court vacated Justice Douglas' stay, granted the day before. A few hours later Eisenhower denied executive clemency, thus sealing the Rosenbergs' doom.

Eisenhower prated about the "fullest measure of justice and due process of law" allegedly extended the Rosenbergs. Only the most gullible really believe that. This was a political assassination. That is how virtually the entire world views it. This is shown by the wave of outrage and revulsion that has swept the globe at the sadistic haste with which the Rosenbergs were rushed to their death.

WORLD-WIDE PROTEST

The protests were most widespread and vocal precisely in those countries of Western Europe where American influence is reputed to be greatest. All sections of the French union movement — including the Catholic right — called for clemency to the Rosenbergs. All the Italian unions strongly voiced similar demands. Some of the leading conservative British trades unions, most notably the huge Transport and General Workers Union with 1,300,000 members, openly joined the protest movement.

In addition, the closest allies of the American capitalists — from the Pope himself to the president of France — warned against carrying through the execution because of the blow it would deal Washington's already shaky prestige among the masses of Western Europe.

Thousands among scientific, cultural, educational and religious circles here and abroad addressed appeals to Eisenhower for clemency. Some 2,300 Protestant clergymen in America voiced their opposition to the death penalty for the Rosenbergs. Eminent atomic scientists Dr. Albert Einstein and Dr. Harold C. Urey (who, incidentally, ridiculed the notion that the accused and the informer against them could have understood or conveyed atomic information) denounced

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NMU Seamen Get New Contract After 4-Day Strike

A four-day "no contract, no work" tie-up of 125 Atlantic and Gulf coast vessels which threatened to paralyze half the nation's fleet of 1,500 merchant ships, ended last Saturday with slight wage gains for the seamen. The settlement, signed by the CIO National Maritime Union leaders and the ship owners, gave pay increases ranging from six per cent down to two per cent instead of the original seven to five per cent demand put forth by the union.

After postponing the June 15 deadline for a new contract for 24 hours at the request of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the union heads declared that there was no strike but that individual seamen were declining to "sign on" in the absence of a contract. During the four-day strike union leaders permitted seamen to sign on for coastwise and inter-coastal voyages.

The giant United States, fastest ship in the world, alone was prevented by the union from making a projected coastwise voyage to Newport News. The United States Lines, operating the superliner, kept its entire deck and engine crew on "stand by" at time-and-a-half pay pending the settlement.

WIDENS DIFFERENTIAL

The six to two per cent wage increase finally agreed upon last Saturday further widens the gap in pay between skilled and unskilled seamen. This is another expression of the trend to reverse the process of narrowing the difference that was taking place throughout the country after the end of the second world war by across-the-board wage settlements.

Higher skilled seamen like electricians will get the six per cent pay boost. The middle ratings which include able bodied seamen will get four per cent while the lower ratings will receive only a two per cent increase.

SWP CANDIDATE TO RUN FOR MAYOR IN DETROIT

DETROIT, June 18 — Frank Lovell, Michigan State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, announced here today his candidacy for Mayor in the fall elections. He pledged to campaign for the defense of civil liberties in this country

As SWP mayoralty candidate, Lovell will also bring to the hundreds of thousands of Detroit unionists the party's program calling for the building of an independent labor party and withdrawal of American troops from Korea.

Lovell will conduct a vigorous campaign against the Trucks police-state law, passed last year by the state legislature and used first against the SWP in an attempt to bar its candidates from the state ballot last November. He will urge militant united action by all labor and liberal forces to secure repeal of this repressive legislation.

The SWP is now seeking action in the Michigan courts to test the constitutionality of the Trucks law, which bars "communist" or "communist front organizations" from the ballot. The Attorney General has arbitrarily labeled the SWP "subversive" and subject to the Trucks law. Lovell pointed out yesterday in a press statement that the SWP is in no way conected with the Communist Party.

He declared that arbitrary rulings by government bodies against the Socialist Workers Party and actions taken against its members are a measure of the extent of the Big Business reaction, which is preparing a broad attack on the union movement.

"The most shocking action of the government to date in its general attack upon civil liberties and its determination to strike fear into the hearts of all who dare to criticize is the conviction and death sentence meted out to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg," said the SWP candidate.

OHIO BILLS THREATEN BASIC CIVIL LIBERTIES

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, June 22 — The Ohio House of Representatives last Wednesday passed two bills providing for the subversion of the 150-year-old civil liberties of the citizens of this State.

Both measures were included in the recommendations of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission which, for two years, has been conducting a witch hunt to lay the groundwork for passage of police-state bills and studying "anti-subversive" bills of other states in order to make this a composite of all their most reactionary features.

The first measure, known as the Devine Bill, after its introducer and chairman of the UnAmerican Activities Commission, provides a fine up to $20,000 and 20 years imprisonment for advocating or committing any act intended to overthrow, destroy or alter the constitutional form of the government of the United States or Ohio by revolution, force or unlawful means. It also bans participation in "subversive" organizations, which are declared illegal, and prohibits destruction of books or records of "subversive" organizations or hiding their funds.

Membership in such organizations is punishable by fines up to $5,000 and imprisonment up to five years.

Witch hunting is put on a permanent basis, with a special assistant attorney general in charge and county grand juries assigned the responsibility for indicting persons and organizations charged with any of the new "crimes" established under the proposed law.

TWO DARED VOTE NO

Indicative of the state of intimidation the Ohio McCarthyites have already created here is the fact that despite official opposition to the bill by the State CIO and the Ohio branches of the American Civil Liberties Union, only two representatives, Joseph H. Avellone and Michael J. Crosser, of Cleveland, had the courage to vote against the measure.

The second bill would make the refusal of a state employee to answer the question of an in-

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Methodist Church Conference Hits Mich. Trucks Law

The Detroit Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting at Albion, Michigan, took a strong stand in defense of civil liberties. Its resolution, passed with but two dissenting votes in a gathering of over 300 ministers and laymen, singled out for specific condemnation the Michigan Trucks Law.

On this question the resolution stated: "We record our opposition to the Trucks Law as an attempt to control subversion, because of its loose wording and definition of terms, and because there are already adequate legal safeguards on the Federal statutes to control subversive activity. We urge our ministers and laymen to give sober and considerate thought to what has happened in other countries when orderly democratic processes of protest and change have been replaced by political authoritarianism and hysterical reaction to those who advocate change in economic, political or social life."

The Michigan Federation of Labor at its May convention describes the law as "a totalitarian measure . . . desecrating the ideals of democracy."

HAWAII LABOR FIGHTS FRAME-UP OF LEADERS

In the greatest strike in Hawaii's history, 26,000 dock and plantation workers walked out in a four-day protest against the witch hunt conviction of longshore union leader Jack Hall and six others under the Smith "Gag" Act. The protest strike started an hour after the Federal Court jury verdict became known.

The Honolulu and Hilo waterfronts were almost completely shut down by the stop-work action of the members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The stevedores broke union precedent by refusing to load military cargo on Korea-bound ships.

EXAMPLE FOR ALL LABOR

Work on the docks, the sugar and pineapple plantations came to a standstill for four days. After its members returned to their jobs, the union held an emergency convention to consider its strategy in the light of "the situation created by the Smith Act Case" and the conviction of its regional director. Union president Harry Bridges, whose conviction on perjury charges has just been ruled out by the Supreme Court, flew to Hawaii to consult with the 300 delegates in their two-day session.

Through their mass walkout the Hawaiian workers have recognized that the witch hunt is aimed against organized labor and have shown the way to resist the witch hunters through independent class action. Here is an example for the rest of American labor.

STATE DEPARTMENT'S BOOK-BURNING AIMED AT ALL DISSENTERS

By David Stevens

The torch has been set to books all over the world by the U.S. State Department acting at the behest of the pyromaniac Senator from Wisconsin. McCarthy, like the Holy Office of the Church of Rome, has compiled an **Index Librorum Prohibitorum** of 30,000 books in 258 overseas libraries of the U.S. Information Service. American diplomatic missions abroad, following "secret" State Department directives, have already "purified" the libraries of several hundred books by more than 40 authors, according to a survey by **N.Y. Times** correspondents.

Two weeks ago Secretary of State Dulles admitted that eleven books have been literally burned although he refused to tell where and when. This admission set off wide-spread protests. The book burners thereupon claimed they never ordered the books to be burned, that only a few books have actually been burned, and that purged books are now being boxed and held pending further orders. Whether books are burned, boxed and buried in vaults, or ground back into pulp as was reported in Japan, is a nicety of destruction by different methods.

Besides, Senator McCarthy, before whom the State Department cringes, wants them burned and no nonsense about it. The Senator's position was relentlessly expressed when he questioned Dr. James Conant, U.S. High Commissionr to Germany, on book burning as follows:

McCarthy: Would you burn them?

Conant: I certainly wouldn't.

McCarthy: What would you do, pay for storing them?

Conant: I think I would be able to make a deal by which I could get rid of them as second-hand books for one purpose or another.

McCarthy: In other words, you are trying to sell those 30,000 books so that people in the U.S. could read them.

For one day Eisenhower appeared to challenge the book burners and champion freedom of thought. "Don't join the book burners," he told graduates at Dartmouth College. "Do not try to conceal the thinking of our own people." That was on Sunday. By Wednesday the General's liberal stance had collapsed. He denied that his remarks were critical of McCarthy and upheld the right of the State Department to burn "communist" books in foreign countries.

In the White House as well as in Congress and the State Department, it is McCarthy and the most extreme capitalist reactionaries who decide these matters.

One State Department directive banned the use of material by "controversial figures, Communists, fellow travelers, etcetera," causing several American diplomats abroad to cable for a definition of "etcetera." Among the hundreds already destroyed or removed are books by Nobel prize winner Pearl Buck and Pulitizer prize winner Upton Sinclair. **Mission to Moscow** by the former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, which upholds the frame up Moscow trials of the thirties and was filmed by Hollywood during the heyday of the Stalin-Roosevelt alliance, is on the purge list.

The Maltese Falcon and **The Thin Man**, two entirely unpolitical mystery stories by Daniel Hammet which had likewise become Hollywood thrillers, were also removed.

American Medical Practice and **Medical Services by Government** by Bernhard J. Stern were purged because they "unduly stressed Negro medical statistics." Also removed were **An American Dilemma**, the informative study of the Negro question by the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, and **Rising Wind** by Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP. The Alsops wrote in the **N.Y. Herald Tribune**: "Presumably recognition of the existence of a race problem in the United States is evidence of the harboring of dangerous thoughts."

Even books of "anti-communists" ended up on the pyre. One was **Washington Witch Hunt** by Bert Andrews of the **Herald Tribune**, who worked closely with Richard Nixon in the conviction of Alger Hiss. Another was Whittaker Chambers' **Witness**, a violent denunciation of "Communists." At this point, a new and unexpected voice joins the list of protesters. It is Joseph McCarthy himself. The banning of Chambers' book, he said on June 23, "means that someone has tried to sabotage efforts to clean up the libraries. It means someone is trying to make the State Department look silly in the handling of this program. And it shows the need to speed up the housecleaning there."

The book purge will therefore be extended into a purge of State Department personnel who are either guilty of overlooking a "dangerous thoughts" book or go too far in applying the term "etcetera." That is indeed a tight rope to walk.

Throughout the ages despots have set aglow the twilight of outlived social systems with the flames of burning books. Today the last stronghold of an expiring world capitalism signals its demise before history in the same manner but on a vaster scale.

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Speed-up -- Curse of GM Workers

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mich. — Since the change in model instituted around the first of the year a rash of wildcat strikes has swept the General Motors plants. Nothing like this has been witnessed in Flint since the war years.

In the past every change-over in production has brought with it a complement of headaches and backaches for the workers in the form of speedups and sundry other problems. This year the corporation ran headlong into a terrific labor shortage. Instinctively the workers in the plants realized the relationship of forces had tilted in their favor. Hadn't GM announced its intention of capturing 50% of the total auto market in America?

The hiring of women, the long overtime hours each week, the repeated announcements of labor shortages, the combing of the South for new hires fortified the thinking of the workers that the time had come to settle some accounts with the most ruthless corporation in the country.

It wasn't long until the workers realized that the International union leaders would not aid them; but little did they realize that the union leaders would obstruct any proposals to take even slight advantage of the corporation's weakness at the moment.

It is axiomatic in the labor movement that you strive for maximum gains when the advantages are in your favor. Many workers still do not realize that the greatest obstacle to overcome is the five-year contract and the philosophy of the leadership in accepting the long-term agreement. The flurry of strikes, episodic as they are for the time being, is dispelling many illusions that existed on the contract and the union bureaucracy. A few examples will demonstrate the process at work and show the limited character of these struggles, whose leadership in many respects is still inferior to the leadership that grew up during World War II when the union was saddled with the no-strike pledge.

REST PERIODS

The small Fisher Body #2 plant was the first to present management with a list of demand before the new model was on the lines. High on the agenda was the request for the reinstitution of two fiveminute rest periods which the union had won years ago and lost when the new plant was built. All procedure was complied with by the local union and its leaders. Surprise of surprises, Reuther and his henchmen refused authorization for the strike!

Not to be foiled this time, the workers responded with a series of wildcat strikes, fully conscious that there would be victimizations. However it was understood that fired workers could quickly find a job in a different plant; in previous years workers would be far more hesitant.

As the wildcat strikes in Fisher #2 mounted, the union bureaucracy remained steadfast in its loyalty to its five-year no-strike agreement; but the corporation, more interested in peak production, capitulated. This partial victory was paid for with imposed penalties of a week to a month for a score of militants. It was considered a partial victory and rightfully so when the odds and obstacles are weighed in the balance. The corporation was saying, in effect, we do not recognize your right to strike but we will take care of you at a later date; right now we want the automobile bodies.

SITDOWN STRIKES

At Fisher Body #1 plant, speedups were resisted in two instances by short sitdown strikes. The issues were immediately settled on the spot! This was the method of settling speedups before the union was encumbered by a contract that is nine-tenths in favor of the corporation, which burdened the workers with a vicious no-strike clause, shackled them by an infamous waiver clause which excludes bargaining on any new point of issue during the five-year agreements, and was topped off by the foul umpire system which molds committeemen in the die of Philadelphia lawyers busily studying each comma, period and exclamation point of the latest umpire ruling rather than relying on the mass strength of the workers they represent. The sporadic nature of the victories is demonstrated clearly by the fact that a few months from now when labor surpluses develop, the corporation can, and will, again hoist production standards.

AT CHEVROLET

In the Chevrolet Assembly plant — under the same roof as Fisher Body #2 — the Chevrolet workers can twice a day witness the Fisher workers take their five minute rest periods while Chevrolet workers must suffer from whistle to whistle.

This plant has never been on strike since it was organized in 1947. It has the notorious reputation of being the slave hole of Flint. Three times the workers have voted to strike only to be thwarted by chicken-feed deals by the International. In past years the union representatives clubbed the workers over the head with the argument that a strike in this assembly plant would not hurt the corporation because it could shift the work schedule to the ten other assembly plants scattered around the country. The idea never dawned on these union leaders to strike all assembly plants, which all have similar problems, at the same time.

Since the union leaders were robbed, by the labor shortage, of their favorite formula they were dumbfounded by the outpouring of workers after the Assembly plant erupted in wildcat strike action over manhandling of an employee by plant protection.

For the fourth time in six years the Chevrolet Assembly workers voted to strike by the overwhelming vote of 870 in favor to 23 against.

AUTHORIZATION REFUSED

Under pressure the Regional officers undertook to lead the strike action. Surprise of surprises, the International, which hypocritically boasts of its strike authorizations, refused to authorize this strike! It was their contention that a strike could only take place over speedups. As fast as speedup grievances were written, the corporation settled by adding a man here and there on the line. That is, it grants all kind of minor concessions but adamantly refuses any thing of a principled, lasting nature. Above all, it gives nothing that means much in writing.

After two solid months of stalling, the union officers settled for exactly nothing. In the meantime the Regional office and local officers hail the "agreement" as a big victory. The settlement was put over on a reluctant membership which could not see how it was possible to overcome the denial of strike authorization by the International.

After this miserable settlement, elections for local offices came due. It would be expected that all incumbents responsible for the sell-out would be faced with opposition. The contrary was the case. All incumbents ran unopposed, due to the demoralization and disgust of the workers. The union bureaucracy sows seeds of discord that will be harvested when the corporation decides the time is ripe to move against the union.

(Another article on Flint next week.)

LETTERS FROM READERS

Economic Problems Facing Auto Union

Editor:

Here are my ideas about the ever-growing crisis which faces the auto industry and its effects upon the union movement in the industry.

It is common to hear and read that the automotive industry has reached a point of saturation. This year, as the **U.S. News and World Report** magazine states, "there will be produced 7,000,000 units for which there are only 5,500,000 buyers." So we can readily see that at the end of 1953 there will be a surplus of 1½ million cars.

This is reminiscent of the pre-World War II days when the auto industry used to lay off a majority of the workers for periods of two to three months.

Today industry through technological improvements no longer finds it necessary to shut down the factories for charges in the car model. In addition, the industry has been unable since the end of the war to produce a sufficient quantity of cars to satisfy the market which had been created because no cars were produced for civilian use during the war.

Industry today will once again find it necessary to close its factories for long periods of time because of their ability to produce faster than they are able to sell their product. This is true of most industries engaged in production for civilian use.

The coal miners have been faced with this dilemma for years so that today there is a steady decline in mining hands, but also shorter work weeks due to improved mining techniques. This is one of the chief factors for the militancy of the miners which in the main causes John L. Lewis to raise his demands far above the rest of American labor leaders. A miner who is asked to strike can see no reason for not doing so; for him it matters little as to when the coal is dug. For he knows there is just so much work, and after a certain quota is mined he will be unemployed.

For John L. Lewis to try and maintain the status quo would soon bring disaster to the miners union. Therefore he is compelled to wage a constant battle against mine employers and the government although he himself supports the system.

Walter Reuther as a leader of the UAW has not become aware of the trap he set for the union while negotiating five-year agreements. Reuther during the last convention demonstrated his lack of knowledge of over-production and the effect it would have on the UAW. How did he demonstrate this? First, by scuttling the demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Second, no provisions made to negotiate the line speed which is one of the primary reasons for over-production (speedup). And third, Reuther continues to make every effort to make possible five-year agreements.

All this in the face of industry stating very openly that car production has for the present reached its apex.

The corporations will find the union a very easy target if Reuther allows the membership to dissipate its strength over minor issues. Once the market becomes saturated with cars, what is to stop the corporations from becoming the real agitators for strike action? Will this not give them the desired respite of production? Will this not also give greater impetus in asking legislation against the labor movement?

If the union movement is to survive and progress, it must take heed of the present economic situation and come forth with a program designed to safeguard the interests of the workers, regardless of the impending war.

Auto Worker,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Revulsion Sweeps World As Rosenbergs Die

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the conviction of the Rosenbergs as well as their sentence.

But the one progressive force that might have prevented the murder of the Rosenbergs was shamefully silent. The 17,000,000-member American trade union movement uttered no word of protest or indignation at the witch-burning. With the notable exception of Hugo Ernst, head of the AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees, not one leading American trade-union figure had the simple human decency and political intelligence to speak out against the political killing of the Rosenbergs.

It is inconceivable that the labor leaders did not know the tissue-paper flimsiness of the government's case against the Rosenbergs and the atmosphere of the anti-communist witch hunt that made a fair trial for them impossible. Yet they were too cowardly, too opportunist, too eager to demonstrate their subservience to the capitalist government and their own rabid anti-communism to demand justice and clemency for the Rosenbergs.

For their blind treachery they themselves may yet pay a terrible price at the hands of the witch hunters, whose ultimate objective is nothing less than the crushing of the American labor movement. The smell of the blood of the Rosenbergs will undoubtedly excite the appetites of the McCarthyites and embolden them to seek bigger and juicier prey — including and especially the trade-union leaders.

Why has the case of the Rosenbergs raised such an outcry everywhere that free opinion still finds room to express itself? Why do many who remained silent while U.S. imperialism burned alive several million Koreans or annihilated two whole Japanese cities with atom bombs now cry out at the spectacle of two obscure Americans being killed after what appear to be exhaustive legal proceedings?

Deaths in war seem impersonal and are frequently excused as the regrettable but unavoidable hazards of military struggle. But the Rosenberg case spotlights the nature of U.S. capitalism in all its brutality and vindictiveness. This was deliberate, premeditated murder intended to intimidate into silence all who would oppose American imperialism in any way. It is a symbol of all that the world has come to hate of the ruthless arrogance and aggressive drive of the American ruling class.

Their pretense that the Rosenbergs got all the benefits of the law makes the actions of Eisenhower and the Supreme Court seem all the more hypocritical. As Justice Black pointed out in his strong dissenting opinion, not only is "judicial haste . . . peculiarly out of place where the death penalty is imposed," but the Supreme Court "has never revieved this record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial. . ." Indeed, the court refused on a number of occasions to review the central question: Did the Rosenbergs get a fair trial?

Could a fair trial have been possible in the witch-hunt atmosphere and with the whole capitalist government lined up to burn the Rosenbergs, regardless of their guilt or innocence, to make of them a terrifying example?

The Eisenhower administration feared to wait any longer the test of public opinion. It feared that each day would see the protest and indignation grow, not only abroad but at home. The juridical case against the Rosenbergs was coming apart at the seams. It was becoming known that the Rosenbergs were actually charged not with committing espionage, but with mere "conspiracy" — agreement to commit — such acts. No tangible evidence was put forward even for this nebulous charge except the claims of a single informer who feared his own neck was at stake if he did not testify as demanded by the FBI. They rushed to kill the Rosenbergs precisely because the case could not stand up under further close public examination.

ACT OF CLASS HATE

This was a deed of class hate and class vengeance. The brutal American capitalist class has sadistically vented on the helpless bodies of the Rosenbergs its rage and frustration at the setbacks it has received abroad from the forces of the colonial and socialist revolutions and for the impediments raised by the revolutionary masses on all the continents to its schemes of world conquest.

The murder of the Rosenbergs shows how far the witch hunters are prepared to go to suppress free thought and political freedom in America. It is the extreme expression of a system of terrorism that has already put a gag over education, literature, the arts and sciences and public service that has sent hundreds to prison for their political views and cost thousands their jobs. It has placed shackles of fear on the American mind. And it will not be halted until the American labor movement — ultimate target of the witch hunters — stands forth with a mighty fist in the face of the witch hunters and declares: "Not another step!"

MUST WE DIE FOR DICTATOR RHEE? ASK BITTER U.S. TROOPS IN KOREA

(Continued from page 1)

rated the POWs into "Communist and "anti-Communist." It had actually withheld from negotiations some 46,000 POWs by changing their status to "civilians" and releasing most of them last year to the military forces of Syngman Rhee.

LIGHT ON WAR'S START

Rhee's present attempted sabotage of a truce not only shows his responsibility for continued war-like provocations now, but sheds light on the immediate events precipitating the full-scale warfare that began on June 25, 1950, just three years ago.

Here and there in the capitalist press, where Rhee's opposition to a truce has been bringing criticism in the past few months, there have been veiled admissions of Rhee's provocations, before June 25, 1950, which sparked the all-out civil war and invited U.S. intervention on his side.

On May 29, in the N. Y. World-Telegram's international column, editor C. E. Fisher, commenting on Rhee as a "high-handed dictator" who is "once more throwing a monkey wrench into United Nations machinery," recalled that "Rhee's truculence caused trouble in 1949. . . Then he proclaimed publicly his intent to invade North Korea and win unification by force if necessary. . ."

The Wall Street Journal of June 8 published some suggestive observations on Rhee's attempts to block a truce which indicate what his course of action might have been before the start of the Korean war. This authoritative Wall Street voice said that the Rhee elements might undertake to continue the war alone knowing that "we would almost certainly be forced into war if they did try for unification by arms and then had the ill luck to be pushed back below the 38th parallel. . . The South Koreans couldn't last very long in a fight, of course, without additional U.S. ammunition, supplies and replacement arms. But knowledge of that fact might not deter them. They might base their whole enterprise on the premise that the U.S. would be dragged in, willynilly, if the going got rough and they were being thrown back."

WHAT HAPPENED THEN

That is precisely the course that events took three years ago. The only information on which Truman and the United Nations based their charge of "unprovoked aggression" by the North Korean regime and dragged us into war was the unverified claims of Syngman Rhee. But the record reveals that Rhee and his officials made repeated threats to invade North Korea prior to June 25, 1950. In border warfare during 1949 Rhee's forces had inflicted more than 31,000 casualties on the North Koreans to 3,500 South Korean losses, according to the official report of the UN Commission in Korea.

The American people were coerced into support of Dictator Syngman Rhee, who represented the side of the capitalist-landlord oppressors, in a civil war against the North Korean regime, which had the backing of the workers and poor peasants. And there is every likelihood that the all-out showdown struggle in 1950 was deliberately precipitated by Rhee after he got assurances from powerful elements in this country that the U.S. would come to his support.

At any rate, the Wall Street Journal strongly suggests this is Rhee's game now. And even if a truce were signed tomorrow with Rhee's assurances of support, there is nothing that guarantees that he will live up to it or that the U.S. leaders will not come to his rescue once more with military forces when Rhee provokes active hostilities. In fact, Rhee — and his American backers — count on that.

The possibility for any kind of real peace in Korea requires first of all that American troops be withdrawn. We have no right to be in there holding up a dictator like Syngman Rhee. We don't want our boys to die for him. Bring the U.S. troops back home and let the Korean people deal with Rhee — as they had started to do when Washington intervened.

Celebrate Fourth of July Weekend
AT MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP
Baseball Game, Big Social, Fishing Contest
Make Reservations Now
Mountain Spring Camp
RD No. 1, Washington, N. J.
Rates: Adults, $6.50 and $6 per day; Children, $4

THE MILITANT ARMY

Cathy Dee reports a good response in **New York** to recent issues of **The Militant** on the Rosenberg Case. Comrades sold 68 papers and distributed six thousand leaflets at union meetings, rallies, and on the streets in working-class neighborhoods. The leaflet contained a reprint of the editorial in the June 8 **Militant** entitled "Labor Must Fight This Injustice."

Cathy reports that **Calvin** sold eight papers in his shop. In the garment center 17 copies were sold in two afternoons, and at a Union Square rally 33 copies were sold. Additional **Militants** were sold at a street meeting of the Rosenberg Committee, at the American Safety Razor plant, at a meeting of the Painters Local 1011, at a District 65 meeting, and in Eastside, Bedford Stuyvesant, 14th Street and Washington Square Park areas of the city.

Comrades participating in the sales and distributions were were Bertha, Cathy, Pete M., Earl, Walter, Dorothy J., Ruth N., Mike B., Sam R., Janet, John, Calvin, Milton, Pete K., Ruth T., Ethel P., Beezie, Ethel B., Jeff, Bob D., Ann, Tom, Harold R., Renee, Janice and Lenny.

Literature Agent **Kay Kean** reports a project in **Akron** to introduce **The Militant** to workers in several of the main plants. Distributions of several thousand **Militants** will be followed by weekly sales. Other activity in the past few weeks includes a sale of **The Road to Peace** at a World Federalist peace meeting addressed by Nehru's cousin.

Literature Agent **Paul Richards** sends in six new subs from **Milwaukee**. He writes, "Here is heartening news from Wisconsin. **Charlotte**, a young worker comrade recruited recently to the Militant Army, has obtained six new subscriptions from workers on the job. This would have given her 234 points in the sub drive. She recognizes the need to sell **The Militant** and shows how it can be done. Charlotte first became acquainted with **The Militant** in a recent election campaign."

Many thanks to **S. R.** of **New York** for a $20 contribution to help pay the printing costs of **The Militant**. Thanks also to **L. S.** of **New York** for $2 and to **E.V.D.** of **Seattle** for 25c.

New York Meeting

THE REVOLT OF THE EAST GERMAN WORKERS

Wed., July 8, at 8 P. M.

At Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave.

Speaker:
GEORGE CLARKE
Editor, 4th International

Chairman:
DAVID STEVENS
Militant staff writer

Twin Cities

18th Annual Strawberry Festival

Sat., July 4, 2 P.M. — White Bear, Minn.

Featuring Strawberry Shortcake

Supper — Outdoor Games — Refreshments

Auspices: Twin Cities Branches
Socialist Workers Party

(Take Highway 61 to double lane to White Bear, turn left and follow arrows to Strawberry Festival. For further information or transportation, call MAin 7781.)

Subscriptions: $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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Impact of the East German Uprising

The resurgence of the East German workers is a colossal event. Despite fearful defeats and betrayals — the hell of Nazism and of war, the partition of their country, a fresh disillusionment with Stalinism — these workers have displayed a heroism, initiative and militancy unmatched in recent years.

Their example will surely inspire their fellow workers in West Germany who have already begun to assert their power through their trade union organizations and protests against re-armament. This key section of European labor is becoming a dynamo of the European revolution.

Chancellor Adenauer hastened to Berlin in an effort to utilize the uprising to further his design of chaining Germany to the imperialist war machine. But the German workers, both East and West, know that Adenauer will not give them unity and freedom; they know him as the representative of clerical-capitalist reaction. By revealing the instability of Stalinist rule and their own independent power, the East German workers have undercut the fake capitalist contention that rearmament is needed against the threat of "aggression from the East." This may well bring about Adenauer's defeat and a Socialist victory in the September elections.

But the profoundest repercussions will be felt in the Stalinist world. The sight of Soviet troops and tanks shooting down unarmed workers with justifiable grievances will provoke deep disquiet among Communist workers of France and Italy. Their questions will not easily be shrugged off nor their criticisms stilled by the apologists for the Kremlin. Intelligent workers can hardly be sold the story that so strong and stubborn an uprising is the reactionary work of imperialist hirelings. Fuel will be added to the discontent with Stalinist policies already observable in West European Communist ranks.

The strikes, meetings and demonstrations have proved so persistent and widespread in East Germany that the Stalinist rulers couldn't crush them by force alone. They have had to combine concessions with repressions in an attempt to appease the masses and allay their anger. Premier Grotewohl, visibly shaken, confessed serious errors, promised to correct them and begged the people to wait two weeks for fundamental changes.

This is the first significant retreat before the onset of the masses by the Stalinist overlords in the satellite countries. This vacillation will be noted in the rest of the East European zone and the workers there will seize upon opportune occasions to press their own demands for reforms and concessions. The development of these moods and movements will unsettle and undermine the totalitarian regimes in these states, affect the Communist parties, and facilitate the anti-bureaucratic struggles of the masses.

Speculations have been published tying up the beginning of the East Berlin events with intrigues of rival cliques in Moscow. Regardless of what is happening behind the Kremlin walls, the defiance of the German workers has gravely damaged the prestige of the post-Stalin directorate and tends to inflame the frictions within the leading circles. There are increasing signs of difference among them on how to deal not only with the nettlesome German problem but with similar troublesome trends in other satellite countries and in the Soviet Union itself.

The uprising which has exploded in East Germany is part of a vaster working class movement against Stalinist monolithism and despotism which has been gathering momentum throughout the Kremlin-dominated territories, especially since Stalin's death. This opposition movement has produced the most acute crisis Stalinism has ever experienced.

Up to now there have been two notable instances of resistance to Kremlin domination stemming from the pressure of the revolutionary masses in countries within the Soviet orbit. In Yugoslavia, this process culminated in an open break of an entire Communist government with the Kremlin. In China, the revolutionary upsurge enables Peiking to fend off dictation and deal with Moscow on more or less equal terms. In these cases the changes in the relations between the revolutionary masses and the Kremlin have been expressed through a differentiation or a rupture within the structure of international Stalinism itself.

The East German workers have gone a step further. For the first time the workers have undertaken direct nation-wide mass actions deliberately aimed against the Kremlin and its satraps, including the native Communist party leadership. This marks a more advanced phase in the disintegration of Stalinism under the impact of the growing forces of the revolutionary workingclass within the Kremlin's own domain.

The Kremlin's stooges in East Germany engaged in subduing the insurgent workers are also defaming them as "agents of imperialism." But the East German workers are anti-war and anti-capitalist to the core. By relying on their own independent class forces and methods of combat, they are showing how to conduct a fight against Stalinism that does not play into the hands of western capitalism or imperil nationalization in East Germany. It is the Stalinists' brutal attempt to crush the masses in East Germany which disheartens and disorients the anti-imperialist struggle and gives aid and comfort to the imperialists.

To mobilize their forces for a definitive settlement with their oppressors, the German workers need our help. American labor has the duty to demand that Washington keep its hands off East Germany, withdraw all U.S. troops from Germany, and allow the German people to handle their own affairs.

They Would Not Turn Stoolpigeon

Nothing about the current witch hunt is more repugnant than its system of informers and extorted "confessions." Most Americans are antipathetic to anything that smacks of a secret political police and Gestapo methods. That is why so many undoubtedly feel a growing uneasiness, if not alarm, at the evermore flagrant manifestations by the FBI of its activities as a secret political police using methods not different in kind from the Gestapo or GPU.

The whole case of the Department of Justice against the Rosenbergs was built on the testimony of informers and "confessions" extorted either with threats of dire penalties or promises of favors. We have come to look on such "evidence" — so easily manufactured — with the utmost suspicion. The stoolpigeon is not worthy of credence.

The Rosenbergs were first convicted on the unsupported testimony of a single stoolpigeon acting under extreme compulsion. The FBI then attempted to get the couple to "name names" on penalty of their lives. A merciless, inhuman cat-and-mouse game was played with the doomed pair to force them to "confess" and "inform" on others.

It is to their everlasting glory that they did not play this vile game as their torturers demanded. They were offered their lives if they would only name some "accomplices." They insisted undeviatingly on their innocence; it was impossible for them to name any real accomplices to any real crime. But the FBI wouldn't have minded that. The Rosenbergs would only have had to "confess" and implicate others, however innocent, and the FBI would have had a new set of victims, new prosecutions, new death penalties, new extortion of "confessions" and a new round of victims in an endless chain. Denouncing such conduct, the Rosenbergs chose death and broke the evil chain.

Millions of people watched with anxiety the terrible pressure upon the Rosenbergs and wondered if they would "squeal." When they died without the blemish of the word "informer" on their souls, even some capitalist papers which had been howling for their blood were constrained to yield a grudging admiration for their refusal to be stoolpigeons or bear false witness.

The reactionaries and witch hunters of American capitalism present as hero the sneaking FBI agent or the cowardly, venal informer. The Louis Budenzes and the Whittaker Chamberses, with their lust for publicity, gain and personal vengeance, are the ideal set before us. Even those wretched weaklings who "confess" against others on threat of losing their jobs or being smeared are lauded as "patriots" and "good citizens." But they are loathsome creatures fit only for a totalitarian slave society.

The Rosenbergs who went to their deaths because they refused to defile themselves by turning informer for the Gestapo-FBI were real heroes. Decent Americans will pay them honor.

Their Morals and Ours
By LEON TROTSKY
64 pages 25 cents
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

How Stalinism Will Be Ended

By George Breitman

In his funeral speech over Stalin, Premier Malenkov pledged that he would continue Stalin's policies. But Isaac Deutscher (in his new book, Russia: What Next?) does not believe this is likely, except with regard to economic-social policy (planning, nationalization, etc.).

As evidence that the new regime has struck out on a non-Stalinist path, Deutscher points to steps it took in its first weeks — reorganization of the party and government machinery, the amnesty, the promise to reform the penal code, reversal of the doctors' frameup, price cuts, criticism of one-man autocracy, appeals for collective leadership, etc.

Now these acts do represent departures from some of the rigid bureaucratic practices associated with Stalin, and they are so viewed by the Soviet people. But do they mean that the Malenkov regime has instituted a decisive break with Stalinism?

Deutscher seems to think so, although he states this view cautiously. He recognizes that the government was more or less forced, after Stalin's death — for reasons explained in our article last week — to conciliate the Soviet people with measures to satisfy some of their aspirations and to keep them hoping for more concessions. He even writes:

"As one analyzes Malenkov's first moves, one can almost hear him pleading in the inner circle of the Kremlin: **Better to abolish the worst features of Stalinism from above than to wait until they are abolished from below.**"

In other words, one of the basic motivations for the new measures is a fear that the Soviet people may move to overthrow the dictatorship, and a desire to head it off. But when these measures are viewed in this light, doesn't it become clear that they are designed not to weaken the dictatorship but to strengthen it?

A dictatorship cleansed of some of its more repressive and irrational features might secure a broader base of support or tolerance than it did under Stalin, especially during the first stages, when the people are hopeful of change and the regime has a desperate need to consolidate its position. But it would remain a dictatorship just the same, wouldn't it?

Deutscher, however, tends to stress only one side of the reasons for the new measures. That is because it is convenient for his theory, which amounts roughly to something like this:

SEES TUG OF WAR

A tug of war has been going on inside the bureaucracy for some years. One section wants to "liberalize" and "rationalize" Stalinism; at home it wants to offer some concessions to the people to keep them from getting out of hand; abroad, it wants to offer some limited concessions to the imperialists in order to avert war, which it thinks can be postponed for a relatively long time.

Their opponents, Deutscher continues, are the die-hard Stalinists, who draw their strength from the political police (bitterly against any changes in the status quo at home) and from the army (whose leaders think war is inevitable and refuse to yield any concessions that might be of strategic value to the imperialists in the coming war). He views the doctor's frameup as a plot by the police, perhaps in collusion with the army, to weaken the reform forces.

Deutscher thinks the "liberalizers," in the form of the Malenkov regime, now have the upper hand. He admits that Malenkov, because of his Stalinist training, may not want to go too far; that he does not want to destroy the police, but only to tame and control them; that he may reverse his path, or be overthrown by the die-hards, if the masses get out of hand or if there is a war, etc. But on the whole he suggests that the Malenkov regime represents the beginning of the reform of the Soviet bureaucracy.

THREE VARIANTS

In his view, there are three variants:

1. **A "relapse into Stalinism," with the police back in the saddle. If this happens, he doesn't think it would last long because the same factors that have been working to undermine Stalinism in recent years would operate to end its revival. Even if the police should unite with the generals to take over power, he believes this would mean a military dictatorship rather than the traditional form of Stalinism.**

2. Military dictatorship. Deutscher thinks this is possible because of the generals' demand for a tough policy in foreign affairs. He does not consider it probable unless the Malenkov regime proves unable to keep the people in line, and does not believe it would mean the restoration of capitalism.

3. **"Democratic regeneration." He sees this, on balance, as the most likely variant. He assumes that Malenkov wants to go at least part of the way in this direction, and that the masses would support his moves and give his regime the necessary stability within which it could initiate a return to proletarian democracy**

HOW WILL IT END?

Some of Deutscher's arguments in support of this view are based on speculation pure and simple, which we can neither accept nor reject at this time. But we must reject his major conclusion, which flows from fatal defects in his analysis of Stalinism.

We agree that even while Stalin was alive the base of Stalinism was being undermined by Soviet economic and cultural progress and the spread of revolution throughout the world. We agree that the new regime, whatever its wishes, cannot rule in the same way that Stalin did. We agree that the end of Stalinism has begun (but not, as Deutscher implies in some places, that Stalinism is now a thing of the past). We also agree that the only real alternative to Stalinism in the Soviet Union is workers' democracy. But we emphatically disagree with the contention that the end of Stalinism is going to come about as a result of a self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy.

NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY

What Deutscher doesn't understand and slurs over is the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy as a special social stratum, a caste, whose interests clash with those of the workers and peasants. The bureaucracy did not usurp its privileges merely to enhance its prestige; it has material interests at stake which it will fight to the death to preserve against the workers and peasants who want a reduction of inequality in the sphere of consumption.

Consequently a harmonious reconciliation between the bureaucracy and the masses is not the easy possibility, even probability, that Deutscher airily assumes it to be. The bureaucrats are not going to relinquish their caste privileges until they have been defeated decisively by the working class.

This is not to deny that the downfall of the Soviet bureaucracy may be preceded by a split in its ranks, with one section perhaps going over to the people. But that is not the same thing as expecting a reform of the bureaucracy to lead to "an orderly winding up of Stalinism and a gradual democratic evolution."

Another thing Deutscher doesn't understand or accept is the Marxist analysis of the present state form in the Soviet Union as a Bonapartist dictatorship. Although Deutscher is acquainted with this analysis, first worked out by Trotsky, he acts as if he isn't, and he doesn't counterpose any other analysis. But he shows that he rejects it by defining Bonapartism almost exclusively as a purely military dictatorship, and talks about it only as a future danger.

This makes it easier for him to spin his theory about the approaching metamorphosis of the dictatorship into its opposite. But the Malenkov regime's concessions to the people don't change its character as a Bonapartist dictatorship; they only indicate that the dictatorship has been weakened. A weakened Bonapartist dictatorship, even when it waves the banner of "liberalization," is still a Bonapartist dictatorship. And Bonapartist dictatorships generally have to be overthrown.

WHAT TROTSKY SOUGHT

Deutscher's illusions and runaway speculations even lead him to write:

"In the 1930's Trotsky advocated a 'limited political revolution' against Stalinism. He saw it not as a full-fledged social upheaval but as an 'administrative operation' directed against the chiefs of the political police and a small clique terrorizing the nation. As so often, Trotsky was tragically ahead of his time and prophetic in his vision of the future, although he could not imagine that Stalin's closest associates would act in accordance with his scheme. What Malenkov's government is carrying out now is precisely the 'limited revolution' envisaged by Trotsky."

This is a flagrant distortion of Trotsky's views on the regeneration of the Soviet Union. We don't know which article of Trotsky Deutscher is citing, or when it was written. The Stalin regime had not yet reached its fully totalitarian form in the early 30's, when Trotsky thought it was still possible to reform the Comintern; it was not until the mid-30's that Trotsky rounded out his analysis of Soviet Bonapartism and the measures required to get rid of it.

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

But Deutscher knows that toward the end of Trotsky's life, and especially after the Moscow Trial purges, he never tired of advocating an "unlimited" political revolution against Stalinism. The revolution Trotsky advocated was of course not directed against the social system in the Soviet Union, which he defended to the end. What he worked for was a political revolution — against social inequality and political repression, for the regeneration of Soviet democracy and the legalization of Soviet parties.

In fact Trotsky went so far, in the 1938 Transitional Program, as to call on the workers "to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the Soviets" in the same sense that capitalist representatives were excluded from the original Soviets.

Anybody who equates such a revolution, which the bureaucracy would fight tooth and nail, with the "liberalization" measures taken by Malenkov and Co., is losing touch with reality or adapting himself to Soviet Bonapartism. In neither case can he render any service to the fight for Soviet democracy.

SOCIALIST REGENERATION

The reality is this: The Soviet dictatorship is in the throes of a deep crisis. As a result, the bureaucracy has offered certain concessions to the workers to keep them from moving on their own. Instead of satisfying the workers for long, these concessions will encourage them to press for new demands (the East German political strike was a preview of what is going to happen in the Soviet bloc as a whole). The crisis will produce further divisions and conflicts among the bureaucracy which the workers will be able to use for their own purposes. War may delay the process, but cannot abolish it. The Soviet Bonapartist dictatorship is doomed, as Trotsky predicted it would be doomed, by the spread of world revolution, and it will be replaced by the democratic power of the Soviet working class. The change will take place through a political revolution against the Kremlin regime, not through its reform. There is no other way to the socialist regeneration of the Soviet Union.

Celebrate Bridges Victory

Wearing victory grins, three west coast longshore union leaders congratulate each other on U.S. Supreme Court decision throwing out perjury conviction against them. Shown, l. to r., are Pres. Harry Bridges of Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, central figure in case, and his co-defendants, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson. Witch-hunters still vow to "get" Bridges.

CLERICS HERE OPPOSE AFRICANS' OWN SCHOOLS

By Robert Vernon

One of the greatest accomplishments of the Kikuyu people, now defending their right to live and govern themselves against British terror in Kenya, has been the wide network of grass-roots schools founded and maintained by the Kikuyu themselves. These schools, now brutally suppressed by the British imperialists, endeavored to combat illiteracy, teach improved farming methods and bring to the people an awareness of their social problems.

An attack on the schools has now come from another quarter, right here in the United States. The Catholic hierarchy, which never misses an opportunity to undermine the public education system here, joined hands with the racist Malan regime as well as fascist Portugal's colonialism in South Africa against the Africans' right to educate their own people.

"REAL MENACE"

The Tablet, American official Catholic weekly, June 6, reported with approval the chauvinistic statements of Archbishops Owen McCann of Capetown (Malan's Union of South Africa) and Teodosio Gouveia of Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa). Both expressed the identical view that there would not be the "real menace" of nationalism and the Mau Mau if all education had been kept under missionary control and "secularization of the native schools" suppressed. They undoubtedly see in an enlightened Africa a "real menace" to the Vatican's extensive property holdings in Africa and other colonial areas, holdings which constitute a source of considerable revenues.

"The independent schools," according to Archbishop McCann, are "sheer hotbeds of Communistic doctrine, unsound patriotism, and ugly gangsterism." (What twisted mind could expect Africans to be soundly "patriotic" to the "ugly gangsterism" of their imperialist overlords?) "The terroristic Mau Mau movement," said Cardinal Gouveia, "is the fruit of the secular schools. . . Wherever there are Christian schools . . . the intense anti-white feeling does not exist."

MISSIONARIES FAIL

McCann deplored the fact that years of intense missionary work had failed to impress Western superstitions on more than a few million South Africans, and even that much amounts to only "a minimum of Christian ethics, which safeguards society." Even Malan's apartheid (segregation) policies, moaned McCann, will not "restrain the avalanche of a people without God and without belief in tribal traditions."

The spontaneous efforts of the African peoples to raise their standards of culture is the best refutation of the imperialist slander that the "poor, benighted heathen" are not fit to govern themselves and would lapse into primitive savagery but for the guidance of "white Christian gentlemen." It is the duty of American labor to throw its huge weight in support of the colonial peoples' right to shape their own future without interference from Washington, London or the Vatican.

British Commit Atrocities Against People of Kenya

The latest reports of the British "white supremacy" war in Kenya reveal a pattern of terror reminiscent of the Nazi exterminations or a mass lynching bee in southern United States.

The N. Y. Times reports that during one week "125 Mau Mau were killed by British troops and Kikuyu Home Guards tearing their way through a large section of the Aberdare Forest" where native independence fighters have taken refuge. The British troops have been "killing everyone they met."

The Mau Mau movement, which has been misrepresented as a "weird terrorist cult" by the British and American capitalist newspapers, is in actuality an expression of a mass revolutionary uprising of the people of Kenya against the rule of foreign landlords and capitalists who have robbed them of their lands and subjected them to ruthless exploitation for many years.

Commenting on the mass slaughter the Times says, "This no longer is a police action in which questions are asked and legal considerations observed." That is, the British are slaughtering the people at random. The dispatch describes how "Patrols roam the inhabited side of the strip of scorched earth and shoot down anyone who comes from the forest to try to steal cattle or get food." These ferocious measures show the degree of fear manifested by the British in the face of the popular uprising against them.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

EAST GERMAN strikes were reported as early as May 31 by the French Press Agency (three days after the 10% speedup decree). FPA reported work stoppages in Finsterwalde, Dresden, Leipzig and Brandenburg in protest against higher work norms without higher pay. In May a mutiny was also reported among the Stalinist People's Police in Prenzlau, where 52 officers and 500 policemen were arrested by the security forces.

* * *

20,000 STEEL WORKERS went on strike in Budapest, beating up Stalinist foremen who tried to stop the walkouts, according to a June 19 AP dispatch quoting Yugoslav informants who live near the Hungarian border. Six hundred Hungarian workers were reported arrested for participating in the strike movement.

* * *

THE BELGIAN Socialist Party has once again come out against the European Army Pact, calling it unconstitutional and opposing its ratification.

* * *

THE DANISH Social Democratic leader and former Premier, Hans Hedtoft, told his party Denmark "should decline with thanks" the NATO offer to station air forces in their country during peacetime.

* * *

WEST GERMAN Defense Minister, Theodor Blank was interrupted with jeers and catcalls at a Christian Democratic meeting in Bielefeld when he pleaded for Germans to take up arms with the West "in their own defense."

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THE ITALIAN Stalinist leaders have formally made a bid to Premier De Gasperi for representation in his cabinet of either themselves or their allies, the left-wing Socialist Party led by Pietro Nenni. The Stalinists stated that they "understand that Italy needs a stable government and they will take this necessity into account."

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JAPANESE fishermen are registering strong protests, one in the form of a sitdown, against continued use of land near their villages as firing ranges for the U.S. Army. Demonstrators complained about the noise, the danger and the "moral problem" arising from presence of U.S. troops in villages from which able-bodied Japanese men are absent on fishing trips for long periods.

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CIVIL WAR casualties in Kenya now include 1,000 natives killed by the British and their auxiliaries, while the rebels have killed 411 Africans, 17 Europeans and four Asians. These figures are all from white ruling-class sources.

* * *

YUGOSLAVIA has accepted a Soviet offer to exchange ambassadors for the first time since 1949. It also agreed to let 26 Soviet war vessels pass through the Yugoslav section of the Danube River on their way to the Black Sea for repairs. But Marshal Tito says his country "will never be able to trust the Soviet Union 100%."

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COLOR BAR defiance is spreading in British-dominated Northern Rhodesia, Africa, where Negroes are beginning to demand that they be served in the stores, the bank and the post office at Lusanka.

* * *

MALAYA has now entered its sixth year of active struggle to win freedom from British imperialism.

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BOLIVIA signed an agreement with Patino Company, former owner of several nationalized tin mines in that country, granting Patino stockholders a certain percentage of revenues from the sale of tin, depending on the price it brings.

* * *

A SECTION of the relatively strong Communist Party of Iceland split recently and announced formation of a "Nationality Protection Party," advocating a reformist program. The former Stalinist leaders heading the new party call for independence from Moscow as well as from the Atlantic Pact powers. They describe themselves as "social-democratic."

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

Unionists and NAACP

By Jean Blake

An important new feature was scheduled for the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this year — a national trade-union conference to be held in conjunction with the 44th annual convention of the NAACP in St. Louis, Mo., June 23-28.

The program planned for the union conference, according to an NAACP news release, would include "discussions of trade union programs to eliminate racial restrictions in the hiring, training, and promotion of Negro workers, securing trade union support for the NAACP's civil rights program, and a presentation of the services the Association is prepared to render to democratic non-Communist trade unions."

Fraternal delegates to the conference were expected from AFL and CIO unions with large Negro memberships.

In addition, after the labor conference, Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, was slated to address a mass meeting in the St. Louis Municipal Auditorium June 25.

To the extent that the new labor-conference feature of this year's NAACP convention indicates a growing consciousness of the need to cement the alliance of the labor and Negro movements in this country, it is a development to be applauded.

The program outlined for the conference, with one exception, is aimed at filling the widely-recognized need for close cooperation of Negro and labor organizations in wiping out the second-class status of colored people as workers and citizens. But the program of the National Negro Labor Council, organized less than two years ago and condemned as a Communist Party front by CIO and AFL officials, had substantially the same worthy objectives.

Two things have prevented the National Negro Labor Council from carrying out those aims to any significant extent: the reactionary factionalism of the CIO and AFL leaders who boycotted the movement from the start, leaving it to the mercies of those primarily interested in using it simply to further Communist Party policies; and the narrow opportunism of Stalinist supporters determined to keep control of the organization at any cost.

The trade-union conference sponsored by the NAACP, by limiting its program to "democratic non-Communist trade unions," unfortunately promises to be as factional a tool of the labor bureaucracy as the NLC has been for the Stalinists. The NAACP leadership knows very well that there is no more "democracy" in some of the CIO and AFL unions sending fraternal delegates than in completely Stalinist-dominated unions and in many that are incorrectly labeled "Communist."

The only way the NAACP union conference can achieve any more fruitful results than the Negro Labor Council has done to date is by the intervention of rank and file Negro and white workers determined to cut through the opportunist politics of the near-sighted Negro and white leadership and put into effect a program of struggle based on the needs of the colored workers as a doubly-exploited segment of the American working class.

Kenya Revolt Described at Detroit Forum

DETROIT, June 14 — Ernest Drake, popular speaker on Negro rights, gave a stirring account of the current uprising in Kenya, Africa, at a meeting held here under the auspices of the Detroit Labor Forum.

To counteract the falsehoods in the capitalist press, Drake presented a detailed Marxist analysis of the Kenya uprising, and the conditions that produced it. He reported the development of tribal life, the misery and want among the Negroes who are restricted to the poorest soil, the brutal working conditions of the miners, the banning of all labor unions by the white ruling class.

Drake related the present uprising in Kenya to the American Revolution of 1776, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution of recent years. He explained the changed conditions of the world, producing a shrinkage in the imperialist system, and the forces which drive the working people in the capitalist countries toward a higher form of government. He urged the workers the world over to support the Mau Mau in their fight for equality and justice.

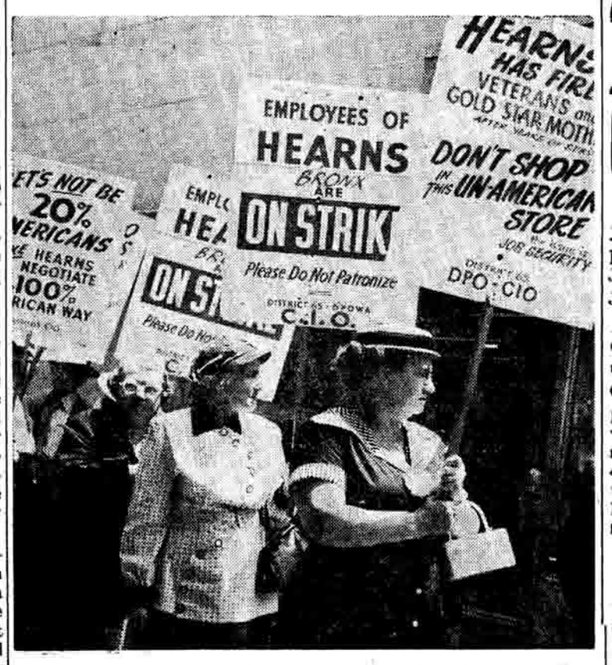
The speaker also reported how the British authorities in Kenya have jailed Jomo Kenyatta for seven years on suspicion of being the leader of Mau Mau, and have branded him a "subversive." The meeting went on record to demand the unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya Africa Union. A telegram containing this demand was sent to the British government.

DEMAND CLEMENCY

To conclude the meeting a brief description of the witch hunt at home was given by the chairman, Frieda Kalb. The audience voted unanimously to demand clemency and a new trial for the Rosenbergs, and sent a telegram to President Eisenhower.

The speeches were followed by a lively question and discussion period.

Gold Star Strikers



Gold star mothers, above, are among 800 workers on strike against Hearn's Department stores in New York City. The owners provoked the walkout by mass layoffs and refusal to negotiate a new contract with Dist. 65, CIO Distributive Processing & Office Workers.

NORTHERN CALIF. LABORERS STRIKE FOR 20-CENT RAISE

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, June 17 — The AFL building trades laborers of Northern California are striking for a 20-cents an hour increase. 20% of the smaller contractors have signed interim agreements to pay this raise but the big contractors are holding to a 10-cent an hour maximum. This offer is made on condition that the workers give up such vital conditions as double pay for overtime and jurisdiction over foremen. The laborers have rightly rejected this offer and are proceeding to shut down all the big construction jobs.

The pattern of settlements here in the past few months has hurt the laborers in their effort to maintain living standards in the face of rising living costs. No union in the area has cracked the 10-cent ceiling set by the employers. The powerful Longshore and Warehouse Union has accepted 6½ cents. The Bay Area carpenters have settled for the 10-cent an hour figure. These carpenters have always had a differential over the rest of the state and this was wiped out in the latest settlement.

So long as negotiations are carried through by separate unions in the same field they are all bound to lose in the long run. The various unions ought to get together and present their demands to the employers on an industry-wide basis with the understanding that no union will sign until all are satisfied.

Mine Strikers At Widen Fight Legal Terrorism

Three of the 48 coal miners picked up at random and jailed in connection with the gun-shot slaying of a company strikebreaker at Widen, W. Va., were indicted on June 4 by a Clay County Grand Jury on a charge of murder.

The dead man, Charles Frame, employed by the notorious non-union Elk River Coal and Lumber Company, which has been under picket-siege since last September, was part of a gang of company men and county deputies which opened fire on pickets meeting on the private property of a striker. In the ensuing exchange of gun-fire, Frame was killed.

The other 45 men who had been held were freed. They had been released originally on a bond totaling the staggering sum of $118,000 on May 15 after spending a week in the cramped Clay County jail, which they described as "the filthiest, dirtiest, most foul smelling place imaginable."

The indictment of the three union men is the climax of one of the bitterest and most heroic American labor struggles of many years. The Widen miners have fought for nine months on the picket line for the right to a union of their own choosing, the United Mine Workers. The company, which refuses to recognize the legitimate union, fosters a company union called the "League of Widen Miners."

Widen is one of the old-time company towns, completely owned and dominated by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Co., headed by J. G. Bradley. Bradley owns everything from the miners' houses to the prosecuting attorney and county deputies.

PICKET KILLED

Since the armed clash in which the strikebreaker was killed, one of the leading union pickets has been murdered, blasted to death by a shotgun at close range. Delbert Richard Nichols, described by his fellow unionists as "one of the strongest union men on the line," was shot down in his own pasture lot on June 7, exactly one month after the clash in which Frame died. Nichols had been one of the 48 arrested in connection with Frame's death.

John Floyd Johnson, who lived alone on the property of Nichols, has been arrested and is said to have confessed he killed Nichols in the course of an argument. The union men point out that Johnson's two sons have scabbed in Bradley's mine.

HUNG JURY

Meanwhile, the "conspiracy" trial of one of the eleven strikers indicted under the infamous Red Man Act, a law going back to colonial times, has resulted in a hung jury. Virgil Nelson, who had been in an altercation with Scott Wilhelms, a 'special deputy,' involving an exchange of punches, was arrested with ten other pickets who allegedly were on the scene. They were charged with "conspiracy." The jury could not agree, seven of the twelve holding for acquittal.

The Red Man Act was enacted in Virginia in the early days of the Republic and incorporated into West Virginia law when that state was formed during the Civil War. Its purpose was to provide penalties for persons masking as Indians and making raids on colonial settlements. It provided that all persons participating in such a raid were equally guilty of any violence committed in the course of the raid. It has been used primarily against coal miners during strikes.

The facts about the Widen struggle have been buried by the capitalist papers. Most of the available information has been made public by **Labor's Daily**, America's only daily labor newspaper, published by the International Typographical Union.

The Teen-Age Addicts

By Joyce Cowley

I'm always pleased — and a little surprised — to read the truth about a problem like the rise of drug addiction among teen-agers. I've seen so many reports that characterize the juvenile addict as a "maladjusted" personality and seem to think they've explained something. The cause of maladjustment is always obscure. Then there's the tough approach that considers all so-called "delinquents" badly spoiled hoodlums who need to be taught a good lesson, preferably in jail.

So I studied with great interest a report by the Committee on Public Health Relations of the New York Academy of Medicine. This report was based on two conferences attended by 52 experts in such fields as medicine, psychiatry, child guidance, penology, law and education.

"Narcotic addiction in adolescents," they say, "is a symptom of serious deprivations suffered by many children living in large and overcrowded cities. Juvenile addicts must be seen as a result of deprivation rather than as a problem of moral degeneracy or failure of law enforcement. Adolescents use narcotics to compensate for lacks of recreation, adequate social contacts, suitable employment and satisfactory living conditions."

So far so good. But when they come to a solution, they falter. "It was the judgment of the conference," the **Times** reports, "that no simple solution existed for the problem of addiction, that the matter was enormously complex and had to be approached from every known angle. . . The mere provision of better housing, more playgrounds and teen-age clubs would not solve the problem because only a small percentage of the teen-age population used narcotics as a compensating factor."

I don't get this. Wouldn't the housing, playgrounds and clubs help this small percentage? Or are they afraid of wasting such improvements on the majority of teen-agers who manage to get by without them and still don't resort to narcotics?

And what do they mean by the "mere" provision of better housing? The housing problem in every large city has reached a state of crisis and a solution is desperately needed by millions of working people crowded into the filth and misery of slum areas.

It's fairly obvious that a constructive program of better housing, schools, playgrounds and other youth facilities will not be undertaken in the near future. The present administration is economizing on "luxuries" of this type.

The report goes a long way when it admits that narcotic addiction is not so much an illness of the individual as a symptom of social conditions. But it fails to draw the necessary conclusion — that the only real solution is to change the social conditions and the only way to do that is to kick out the representatives of Big Business who control Washington. Send men and women there who represent American workers and farmers, who will take over and run things in the interests of all the people. Then we'll get action. Then we'll eliminate the wretchedness of big-city slums which breed not only narcotic addiction, but so many other social disorders of a sick society.

Notes from the News

THE ASSASSIN OF LEON TROTSKY, the GPU agent called Frank Jackson, who has spent the last 13 years in a Mexican prison, will be eligible for parole in six months. He was given a 20year sentence after killing the exiled Bolshevik leader on Stalin's orders in August 1940.

* * *

THE CREWS who take 500,000 sightseers each year to the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor conducted a successful forty-four-hour strike last week. Their dispute had to be taken directly to the Federal Department of the Interior. The boatmen won 35 cents an hour wage increase, extra overtime pay, a shorter work week, and a pension and welfare fund.

* * *

FIVE RAILROAD UNION heads told the Association of American railroads that further negotiations on grievances will be futile unless the employers retract threats to obtain a no-strike pledge from them with the aid of a "Congressional blackjack." A log-jam of more than 5,000 worker grievances has piled up while railroad executives have been seeking government legislation to aid their stalling.

* * *

THREE CIO UNIONS are reported to be discussing merger with AFL unions. The 65,000 member CIO International Brewery Workers, with 329 locals throughout the country, was said to be conferring with the huge AFL Teamsters Union. The executive officers of the CIO's 78,500 member Utility Workers were reported meeting with the head of the AFL's International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. It has previously been rumored that similar talks were taking place between Ralph Helstein, head of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, and Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen.

* * *

YOUNGSTOWN'S POLICE CHIEF claims ogling is indecent — even on the covers of a book. Looking at a paper-backed edition of James T. Farrell's "Young Lonigan," which he banned, the chief said in court its cover shows "the kind of ogling that goes on at many street corners and which our police officers would break up if they saw it." When the defense lawyer for the publishers said he wanted to learn what an ogle was "before I ever go back to Youngstown," the police chief snapped back: "You'll find out if you try one on the street."

* * *

OFFERING A FIVE-POINT program to maintain full employment, CIO President Reuther said June 20th that two million more jobs had to be created each year to avoid a serious sag in the economy. An accompanying CIO study reported that "rising man-hour ouput tends to displace from 1,000,000 to 1,750,000 working people each year."

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THE WITCH-HUNTING PACK is now howling for the scalp of Emanuel Block, attorney for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Led by American Legion posts, they are calling upon the New York Bar Association to disbar Block because he said: "I feel ashamed I am an American today" shortly before the Rosenbergs were electrocuted and branded Eisenhower as a murderer at their funeral.

* * *

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION president Patton wrote President Eisenhower that grain farmers face a possible two-billion dollar loss this year because of a shortage of storage bins for the 1953 bumper wheat crop. He said farmers were being forced to sell wheat at from 40 to 75 cents below parity prices for lack of storage space.

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DR. RALPH BUNCHE is being investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee, according to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Dr. Bunche, a winner of the Nobel peace prize, is now a member of the UN committee to investigate race relations in South Africa. He once refused a job in the State Department because of Jim Crow in Washington.

Independent Class Battle in E. Germany

(Continued from page 1)

tomorrow? Would it be a good thing? Should we join it if it takes place?"

It was raining the next morning, but neither the weather nor the cancellation of the 10% speedup kept the workers from turning out by the tens of thousands for new demonstrations, which again converged on the government buildings, this time from several directions, and which again raised demands, this time of an exclusively political character:

"Free elections."

"Ivan go home." "Withdraw the Soviet occupation forces."

"Re-unite Germany."

"Down with the government."

This time the German Stalinist cops attacked, trying to break up the demonstration before it reached the government buildings. The workers fought back bitterly, though they were unarmed. They attacked police headquarters, turned over and burned police vehicles, destroyed propaganda booths and both Soviet and U.S. zonal-boundary markers. Fighting became general.

Unable to keep control with the police, the authorities then called in Soviet troops and armor. After some hours they were able to clear the streets. More than a dozen were killed, more than 100 were injured in Berlin alone on June 17.

Martial law was declared, and a worker was quickly executed by the Soviet authorities as a warning to the others. But the demonstration had turned into a general political strike. All transport was stopped, no papers appeared, most of the workers stayed away from the plants.

WHOM THEY FOUGHT FOR

The Stalinists denounced the "foreign hirelings" and the editors of the **N. Y. Times** (June 18) hastened to assure its readers the demonstrators were "fighting and dying for all of us." Was it actually then a pro-capitalist demonstration?

Both sides searched carefully for any evidence that could be twisted to confirm their claims. But they could not point to a single concrete fact to support them.

A few days later M. S. Handler, who wrote the most searching articles on the situation that appeared in the capitalist press (**N. Y. Times**, June 20 and 21), reported:

"Not one of a half dozen reporters who circulated among the rioters in East Berlin could affirm on being questioned that they heard the demonstrators utter a single slogan on behalf of the West German Republic, a West German politician or party or a Western ally."

If they were really fighting "for us" (meaning capitalism) they surely didn't show it by what they demanded. Judging by what they said and did, we must conclude that they were fighting for themselves, for their own interests, for their own aspirations.

"SPONTANEOUS"?

The **Times'** editors confidently asserted the morning after June 17 that "there was no planning and no leadership, for this was a spontaneous outburst." Five days later they had to eat these words.

Because by then even the Stalinist authorities had admitted what at first was only rumored — that the demonstrations had spread out of Berlin into every large and medium-sized city in all of East Germany. The general strike hit every industry in the country, and apparently closed down most plants and mines. Police were beaten to death; in at least one city the workers stormed the prison and released political prisoners; in most cities the radio and Stalinist "activists" were still pleading with the workers to return to their jobs several days after June 17.

Of course there is an element of spontaneity in every mass action. That is, an action can be planned carefully and yet surprise its organizers by assuming a magnitude greater than even they dared expect. Perhaps that happened this time too.

But there can be no doubt that this was an organized action — splendidly organized. Handler cited many things to show this. In Berlin one man who had brought a big group from his factory told an observer "he was expecting the arrival of several thousand more men. Shortly after this conversation took place several thousand reinforcements did arrive at the street intersection specified."

WORKERS' UNDERGROUND

Moreover, "the rapidity and simultaneity of the strike throughout East Germany" not only indicated leadership and organization, but leadership and organization of a superior type.

Far from having "no leadership," Handler concludes from the evidence, the uprising points "to the existence of a nameless and faceless workers' underground organization in East Germany," led and directed "by men of vast experience in conspiracy and direct action."

Handler dismissed the Stalinist charges about "American agents" precisely because this "authentic workers' underground (is) beyond the reach of the intelligence services of the Western Powers and immune to the political organizations of the middle-class Bonn Government."

The imperialist "intelligence" forces could never have organized the East German uprising, he continues, "for the simple reason that these services are not equipped by intellectual formation, training or the personal tastes of their operatives to engineer mass movements of the populace such as occurred."

Just who these leaders are remains still to be determined. They may include former members of the Social Democratic Party, the country's chief working-class party, whose East German section was merged with the CP in the Socialist Unity Party. They may include past or present members of the Communist Party, disillusioned by Stalinism after eight postwar years.

It is significant that on June 22 the CP Central Committee castigated "tens of thousands" of its members for having "done nothing" to suppress the strikes. On the same day it was reported that the mayor Doebernitz in Saxony-Anhalt, himself a member of the CP, had been executed for knocking down a Stalinist cop who fired into a crowd of demonstrators. Some police were executed for refusing to carry out orders to disperse the workers.

WAS IT A DEFEAT?

The **Times'** editors asserted that the German workers were fighting "blindly, hopelessly." This accords with the sinister capitalist propaganda theme that Stalinist domination can be ended only by imperialist war, which the **Times** stated explicitly: ". . . no people can rise to overthrow a totalitarian government. Such regimes can only be destroyed by conquest from outside." (June 18).

But were the great strikes in East Germany unsuccessful? This can be maintained only if one believes that their aim was the immediate overthrow of the government, that is, if they were intended as an insurrection to take power.

The evidence points the other way. The workers who participated were all unarmed; the organizers knew they had armed police and Soviet armor to contend with. The signs all lead to the conclusion that the strikes were organized as a protest demonstration with limited though crucial aims — to show the workers' power and resentment against their grievances, to strike fear into the regime and put pressure on it for concessions.

From that standpoint the strikes must be termed eminently successful, despite the brutal repressions and mass arrests. The Stalinist regime was shaken from one end of the country to the other; its prestige was dealt a blow from which it may never recover. In addition to repressions, the rulers had to make a long series of concessions to the living standards of the workers, and to promise many more. Most important, the workers were able to see for themselves their own strength, militancy and solidarity — qualities which they know they retain and will be able to translate into effective action in the future when the opportunities come.

WILL CONTINUE

As Handler wrote: "In view of its class character and the anonymity of its leadership, the East German underground probably will continue to function as an independent organization preferring to follow its own line in pursuit of its own aims."

When the East German workers are linked up with their West German brothers, together following their own line in pursuit of their own aims, then both the imperialist and Stalinist schemes for Germany will be defeated, and Germany will be re-unified on a socialist basis.

MT. SPRING CAMP PLANS BIG DOINGS JULY 4th WEEK-END

Preparations at Mountain Spring Camp are underway for an extra-special program of fun over the Fourth of July weekend.

Friday night there will be a camp-fire weenie roast and song-fest. On Saturday there will be pingpong and badminton tournaments, athletic events and a big social. On Sunday William F. Warde will deliver the traditional Fourth of July oration. The talk is entitled "Four Stages of American History." In the afternoon there will be a New York versus Newark-and-Philadelphia baseball game. A prize will be given to the angler who pulls the biggest fish out of the pond over the weekend.

A delicious and king-sized menu designed to please both gourmets and chowhounds has been worked out.

Accommodations consist of double rooms in the new lodge or private cabins. In addition a limited amount of dormitory space is available. It is imperative that reservations be made at once as an overflow crowd is expected.

Daily rates — including meals and lodging — are $6.50 and $6 for adults, and $4 for children. These rates will prevail for the summer season. Weekly rates are $40 and $37.50 for adults, and $25 for children.

The Mountain Spring Children's Camp still has room for a few more children. Rates are $30 per week. The Children's Camp will open July 1.

Inquiries and reservations should be addressed to: Mountain Spring Camp, R.D. 1, Washington, N. J. The telephone is Washington 1352.

Ohio Bills Threat To Civil Rights

(Continued from page 1)

vestigating body as to whether he was a Communist evidence that he was.

Even the Cleveland **Plain Dealer** reporter, Alvin Silverman, noted in his article on passage of the measure:

"Reversing the traditional American view that a man is innocent until proved guilty, the legislation would force a state employee to prove his innocence if he refused to answer, even on the grounds that it might incriminate him."

The vote on this bill was 13 against, 108 for.

Both measures have been referred to the Senate.

BILLS' OPPONENTS

The Cleveland Civil Liberties Union, which has been outstanding in leading the opposition to the Devine Bill, is winning widespread support for its campaign to alert the citizens of the state to the danger to their civil liberties.

A number of CIO and independent unions recognizing the danger to the labor movement are supporting the campaign of the ACLU, as well as taking independent measures to publicize and protest against the Devine Bill.